1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

among unmarried girls for the attention of an eligible bachelor on these occasions. A young man between the ages of about fifteen and eighteen makes a point of "going the rounds," attending sprees at as many settlements as he can, and thereby meeting as many eligible girls as possible. His father usually takes a paternal interest in his amorous intrigues, by arranging trips which will enable the young fellow to "see the world." Thus, the average young woman and young man enjoy a series of affairs during their youth. It is rarely that a girl becomes pregnant during this period. The reasons for this I am not sure of, but informants are definite in stating that both contraceptive methods and abortion are used. The opinion seems to be prevalent, however, that an unmarried girl uses these methods infrequently. It is possible, of course, that a certain number of conceptions which might arise from such casual unions are prevented by temporary sterility and by ineptness of technique.

Contraceptive measures may be used by both men and women. They take two forms: bush medicines which may be self-administered, usually as infusions; and ritualistic treatments by the piaiyen.[1] Abortion is induced usually by old women who are skilled in such matters. They administer an infusion of bush herbs to the patient, which is said to induce violent abdominal cramps. Manual assistance is given by kneading the abdomen, and, occasionally, it is said, small sharp sticks are inserted into the vagina "to open the woman up." The latter method is said to produce chronic infertility which can be cured only by the piaiyen. My information on this subject is somewhat indefinite inasmuch as the methods are for the most part in the hands of women and piaiyen, who, when questioned, naturally profess ignorance of the subject. A certain plant, of which I have specimens which have not been identified, is drunk as an infusion by the men, and is said to make "a man run water." It is effective for only a day or two after use. All male informants agreed, often volunteering the information, that contraceptive and abortive methods of one sort or another are in use.

Premarital sexual affairs theoretically take place only between individuals who are eligible to marry, i.e. those who are not siblings or parallel cousins. Incest tabus apply to siblings and parallel

[1] Priest or medicine man.

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835 cousins of all degrees, all other persons of the same generation being considered eligible and being called according to sex, takano (female cross cousin) and iyao (term for male cross cousin). As a matter of actual fact, intercourse does take place between members of the incest group occasionally. If it is known to the community as a whole, ridicule results, but I learned of no formal religious sanctions for the incest rule. Breaking of the incest tabu is frowned upon; it is considered unlucky and also nasty and indecent. Almost any sort of ill luck and sickness may result from incest, and this the piaiyen may attempt to cure, although his treatments are not considered highly efficacious for such cases. But if an individual wishes to take the chance, the other members of the community will only laugh at him or regard him as singularly foolhardy. A widower, residing in Haiari settlement, was said to be sleeping with his daughter during the entire time I was in the region. The case of a man from Ianna settlement, who was said to be sleeping with his mother, was frequently related. In each of these cases it was commented that the individuals in question were behaving "like dogs," but they were not ostracised or punished in any physical manner.

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584 As time goes on, a young man feels that it is time he settled down to family life. He usually has developed a liking for some particular girl, whom he revisits frequently at her father's house, and in whose house he finally becomes a guest of long standing. The girl's relatives usually, after some time, raise the question of the seriousness of his intentions, and he finally speaks to her father, asking the older man to give him his daughter. In other cases, a young man may ask a father for a daughter the first time he sees her. In either case, if the match is approved, the old man requires that the suitor build a house and cut a field in the bride's settlement, feats which are regarded as testing not only the seriousness of the suitor's intentions, but also his ability as a homemaker. During the time required for the accomplishment of these tasks, the suitor lives in his future father-in-law's house, enjoying the favors of the girl. It is obvious that sex is a minor consideration in marriage. When the house and field are completed, the young couple prepare to move in and settle down. The groom must pass one more test, however. While the bride prepares drink for a spree which will be given at the house warming, the groom goes

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Such incestuous marriages, with a very few exceptions, are prohibited throughout human society.[1] 601 582

On the other hand, marriage with a cross cousin, while occurring about a third of the time in the geneologies, is not prescribed in the system. It is true that the spouses of one's siblings and parallel cousins are addressed by the same terms as cross cousins (e.g. sister's husband is pwatumu, brother's wife is takano), but in actual usage among the Caribs these terms for cross cousin have no true implication of blood relationship. It would be more proper to translate the terms takano (female cross cousin, man speaking) and iyao (male cross cousin, woman speaking) as "marriageable." In other words, a Carib man will address any woman whom he does not know definitely to be a parallel cousin or sister as takano, a Carib woman will address any man as iyao whom she knows is not her brother or parallel cousin. Any individual called by these terms is a possible mate. All other persons are impossible as mates. I, being a stranger, was frequently called iyao by the women. This is not to say that the Caribs do not generally know which individuals are their cross cousins by blood relationship, but it simply means that no terminological distinction is made between true cross cousins and other marriageable persons. Such extension of terms is entirely inconsistent with a dual organization.

A further indication that the kinship terminology is unconnected with a former sib or dual organization is the indifference displayed 601 614

[1] This is not the place to enter into an elaborate theoretical discussion of incest tabus. We may, however, offer an explanation of their origin which does not depend on a supposed inherent repulsion against incest nor upon the presence or structure of the sib group. Assume, for the sake of making the point clear, that marriage was originally practised between brothers and sisters. It is the nature of things that all marriages could not be of this type over a considerable length of time. In the first place, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal in every human family. Some persons would therefore be obliged to seek mates outside the immediate family. In the second place, individual preference in some cases would naturally dictate the choice of a mate from those who were not numbered among the brothers or sisters of the chooser. Again an outside marriage would take place. Once an individual has married outside his family he has doubled his social resources; he has two families behind him instead of one; and the two groups united in the marriage have a basis therein for common interests. In the competition for survival which takes place among individuals and among families in all human society, even today, the person who married outside his family, and his family itself, would be in a stronger position than those who married siblings and families in which this was the only type of marriage. Thus two types of family would arise to compete against each other, the exogamic and the endogamic. Because of their greater social influence, which would of course be strengthened with the development of property concepts, the exogamic families would presumably force the endogamic families into extinction. At least they would force the practise of family endogamy into extinction. Before this had become complete, however, the exogamic families would have imposed a formula to define their position, as is the universal practise of all social institutions. This formula would have been the incest tabu. By the time the exogamic family had completely eliminated the endogamic type, the incest tabu would have become an integral part of the family structure. Viewed in this light the incest tabu may be considered as a social rather than a biological restriction, imposed by the successful exogamic type of family during the course of its social competition with the endogamic type of family. With the later rise of sib concepts the extension of the tabu, in certain cases, would arise naturally. 835